1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

596 616 622 791 554 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

616 428 Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

616 773 There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

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In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

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621 596 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

606 daughter, he should have married the daughter of one Juan
604 Bario, who was a parallel cousin of Landaeta, therefore, he actually married not his immediate cross cousin, but his cross cousin once removed. He kept strictly within the cross moiety marriage rule. However, this marriage brought complications in his life, because for all practical purposes he had two fathers-in-law to take care of rather than one. He solved this problem by living with Landaeta, his wife's father, half of the week, and the other half he spent with his uncle,

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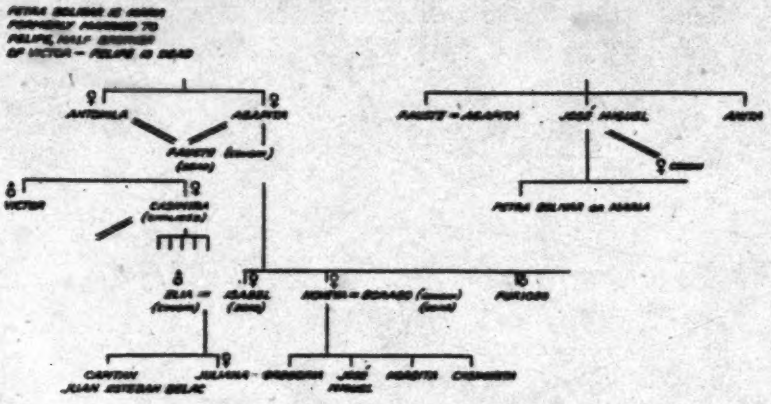

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burron.

606 Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived.
604 The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

616 Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety
476 for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

622 In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most
593 of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sis-
626 ters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety
604 as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in
593 hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for
476 guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Ecological Determinants of Chieftainship among the Yaruro Indians of Venezuela

ANTHONY LEEDS

I

Father John Cooper is said to have remarked once that when South American Tropical Forest tribal chiefs order their people to do something, the people immediately do as they choose. Certainly, as a general pattern of chieftainship, this is true among many groups,[1] and the Yaruro Indians of the south-central Venezuelan llanos are no exception. Among them, as with others, the very word chieftainship seems inappropriate. We shall use the term here, but it should only be understood as a convenience for designating our subject matter. Whether, in general, the functions of chieftainship in South America vary in importance as ecological conditions require differing chiefly activities, or whether chieftaincies were created or reinforced through the structure of statuses engendered in acculturation situations, as seems to have occurred in parts of Venezuela, or whether the varieties of chieftainship represent different evolutionary phases of development responding to the general conditions of the culture in which they occurred, is not yet clear. Presumably some consistent set of factors may be found, perhaps along the techno-ecological lines suggested by Sahlins or Harris[2] or the socio-economic conditions such as warfare suggested by Carneiro[3], which will serve as principles in the explanation of the tropical South American and other chieftainships of similar characteristics, such as some of those found in Melanesia. It is hoped that the following interpretation, largely dealing with the ecological foundations of chieftainship, will contribute towards this formulation of principles.

II

Briefly, Yaruro chieftainship is characterized by its ineffectiveness. The *capitan*, as he is called in Spanish, or *o'te-ta'ra* (elder head) in Yaruro, rarely commands. When he does, the commands most often are directed at children and young people, especially males, women, on the whole, being consulted not commanded. Most direct

[1] E. g. Akawaio, Barama River Carib and other Carib groups, Canella, Carajá, Cayapó, Kinkuru, Sherente, Tauliping, Waika, etc. Cf. Lowie, 1949, especially pages 341—350.

[2] Harris, 1958; Sahlins, 1958.

[3] Carneiro, 1961.

Most direct

622 [191 177] commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[571] 622 648 [554] [682]

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[578] [152] [191]

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

[181] [114]

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Maranta arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

221 262 Finally, the Yaruro deny any considerable long-term oscillations in the environment and consequently in the resources. The extremes, particularly the minima, of habitat factors which regulate food and population balances, according to Liebig's Law, fall within narrow limits and again elicit no special institutions of management or of equilibrium maintenance to compensate for them, as in the case of the potlatches of the Northwest Coast of America, the buffalo hunts in the Great Plains of the United States, or the use of pigs in Melanesia.[22]

VI

868 One more point may be made regarding the ecology as limiter of chieftainship among the Yaruro. The tools, techniques, and resources require no very extensive, highly specialized or esoteric knowledge. In fact any man or woman, and any child as well, has access to such knowledge, and it is easily acquired by all members of the society who thus have, at least potentially, equal access to control over the means of life. There is no specialized knowledge, at least with respect to technology and habitat, which requires a specialized repository in the form of a chief or learned person. Yaruro knowledge, itself dependent upon the inventory of tools, techniques, and resources, inhibits any tendency towards the development of any [463] sort of specialists in technical or managerial knowledge. As one might expect, there are no true specialists in Yaruro society. Here and there women make p[ots] and certain women seem to have a special bent for making woven sacks but th[ese] [756] are not properly specialities. Nor, from a technological or ecological point of view, is male or female shamanism in any way a speciality. They do not appear to be specialists even in esoteric knowledge. Knowledge of the general type described here might be called 'dispersive' or 'egalitarian' since it tends to become more or less uniformly distributed among the members of the society. A consequence of the existence of this type of knowledge, associated with the kind of technology described, is that there will be no specialised training of any specialists and, of course, no specialised personnel to do such training. This is the situation which obtains among the Yaruro both with respect to technical and managerial activities. Thus, in Yaruro knowledge, there is no source for the support of an institutionalized and strong chieftainship.

VII

221 241 361 622 In one respect, the ecology encourages chiefly functions. A balance is struck between the cultural resources, the possibilities that the habitat affords for their production, and the length of time that areas of land can be exploited. This is particularly true of the horticultural lands since they can no longer be used after three years of cropping, and it becomes necessary to move on. The result is that there is a slow migration of resource areas, chiefly of horticultural areas across the tribal territory. The lands in cultivation move further and further from any given village until a point of suspension is reached at which the walking and working

[22] Cf. Suttles, 1960 a, 1960 b; Llewelly and Hoebel, 1941; Vayda, 1961; Vayda, Leeds, and Smith, 1961.

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques[24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works.[25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus faciliating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

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[24] Cf. Sturtevant, 1961; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961.
[25] Cf. Sahlins, 1958.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals, such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. 428 [422] [231]

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 433 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 554 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

776 775 return to earth and guide the community. In this manner, Ku'man is a center of gravity of the Yaruro ideological life. She is the center of a communications network which ties the Yaruro of the hither-world, those of the other-worlds, and the gods all in one continuous system of personal and social relations. This is somewhat the position of the spokesman or 'capitan' in the community [622] life of the Yaruro, though he has proportionally much less influence in his village than Ku'man has in her universe.

775 776 772 In sum, the gods and the dead are conceptualized as continuous with those of us on earth. Conceptually they appear to constitute the two highest steps in the age levels: infant, child, young adult, elder, the dead, and the gods. The last four classes are increasingly instrumental in teaching the ethics of living in tranquility, of respect and deference to one's spouse and to all members of one's people, and in teaching the values of the community. They exhort but never compel the community to follow these ideals. These precepts are followed not only among the egalitarian gods in their autonomous other-world communities, but in the personal and social relations between the gods and the hither-world *pumé*. The relations between men and gods, the communication between the hither-and other-worlds, the cosmography itself, all show quite clearly that [771] there is no separation of "natural" and "supernatural" as discrete classes of events. The cosmos, society, and man are a single system in Yaruro thought.

796 771 The nexus through which the flow of life in the other-world and the ongoing rhythm of daily life in the hither-world are meshed into a single system is the religious ceremony, the *tonghé*. Some description of the *tonghé* will afford us further insight into Yaruro ideology.

796 756 787 During the night-long *tonghés*, the entire community sits behind the shaman, ranged roughly by age levels. The women sit to his right, the men to his left. At dusk he begins to sing as he starts his journey to the land of Ku'man through the dark, cold land of Kiberó, the toad who gave man fire. In hundreds of improvised verses and melodies, he describes his journey, and then, after his arrival about midnight, his adventures in the lands of Ku'man and subsequently of the other gods. In each verse, the shaman sings an intonation which the entire community repeats in an identical antiphon. Thus the full experience of the shaman is transmitted to and shared by every member of the community. All is public; there is no secret knowledge. The shaman urges his people to sing with him and the other-worldly beings, to share in the responsibilities and joys of the community in supporting their individual members whether the [757] shaman in his journey or the sick person for whom the *tonghé* may be being held. At the same time, in Ku'man land, he urges the other-worldly beings to come to advise his people and teach them. Later, the verses are no longer sung by the shaman, but rather by the dead and the gods who arrive in the husk of [776] the shaman which he has left behind as a channel of communications for the other-worldly beings while his divisible self travels abroad. As these beings arrive in the shaman's husk, all members of the community may greet them by putting their arms around them or giving them cigarettes or drink. This is done separately by women, sometimes in groups, and by men. Throughout the ceremony the chief link between the sexually divided community is the shaman or the gods in the shaman's husk upon whom both sexes are focusing

/10 cont./

II. Notes on the Otomaco

101 From information gathered principally from Pedro Ramón
186 Camacho (10) it seems that the Otomaco or Tomaco were the

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10. Chief and shaman of community No. 6, our best informant.

object on the part of the Yaruro of a regard completely different from that they had for the other Indians who were their neighbors (11).

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11. In addition to the neighbors already cited in a previous article (see "infra" IV List...36) names of other Indians, known, it seems, by the Yaruro, were mentioned to us by various informants in the course of our investigations. Some appear to live at present in Colombia; the Mayaredo or Mayarero, "very far to the west of Yaruro territory, there where the savanna ends," which no doubt means at the foot of the Andes; the Saliba and Taparito cya koromę more particularly on the upper Meta; and the Tiapaco, Tiarua, and Mapoyó without fixed localization. The others seem to have disappeared: the Piquero (tabę pumę in Yaruro), who "cultivated conucos and had a game with a ball" and seem to have inhabited the banks of the Orinoco on the Cinaruco side, and the Guamo, Tamanaco, Tamanachi, and Guaruro.

/13 cont./

Y 186 Let us add, finally, to this dossier on the Otomaco and their relations with the Yaruro, that the latter seem to have considered them, despite their being of another tribe, as pume--a term also already employed for the Otomaco in the legends about the origin of the mono, araguato, and chigüire--that is, men like themselves. "They are pume like ourselves," our old informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, said to us. On the other hand, the old Yaruro seem to have called them aitti tabe or eitti tabe, or even the short form aitti, which in Yaruro signifies simply that they are of a different tribe, whereas the Otomaco on their part apparently called the Yaruro pume, or even pume ja, which, in Yaruro also, means good people.

O 114 361 It was Juan Esteban Bellac (27) and Pedro Ramón Camacho

Y [622] 27. Temporary chief of community No. 2.

who pointed out to us almost simultaneously the existence of a last Otomaco village called Los Caballos, the name of the place where they were supposedly created, and situated on the Río Cunaviche not far from the Venezuelan village of Cunaviche. We went there in October, 1949, but only found some small hills covered with short, green grass and occupied by several trees in the English garden manner, which rose above a river of clear water. The site and the landscape were remarkable, but the Otomaco had abandoned them a long time ago.

O 115 We did find, however, one survivor of Los Caballos, Catalina Galinda, in the village of Cunaviche (in the Jacintero quarter, located a bit upstream), but we could /14/ draw nothing out of her. She no longer had any remembrance of O [191] the language or culture of her former tribe, having left Los Caballos very young and at a time when the last Otomaco were already speaking Spanish among themselves.

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I. STATEMENT OF COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMUNITIES OF THE YARURO (29)

29. For data of observations, location of communities on the Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, and description of habitation types, see "infra" IV List ...36.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Capanaparo River:									
1	Carlos José Delgado, then, after his death, his wife Severiana.	Santa Ana		2					According to Vicenzo Petrullo's (31) investi- 31. See "infra" IV List...82. gations, the community was called Las Mercedes and was located near the Venezuelan farm of the same name.
2	José Ledesma	a) Lagunota abandoned for:		5					Same community as Petrullo's Lagunota (31). 31. See "infra" IV List...82. which was situated beside the Venezuelan farm of Piedra Azul.
	or Juan Esteban Bellac (in the absence of the former)	b) Poterito	x (32)	x		x			
		32. "X" indicates unenumerated habitations.							
3	Adán Matute	Potrero Grande		4 to 6					The summer encampment located on a shore and not observed is called San Luis.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)						Remarks on Sites
		30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38.	Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
4	Marcelo Castillo	3 sites occupied simultaneously: a) Guacharaca		3					
		b) Agua Linda	2						
		c) Médano Alto		1					At the time of the observations (29), the site 29. /See footnote 29 above./ had only one type II 1 a habitation, temporarily occupied by one ♂, 2 ♀, and 2 children who were to return to Guacharaca.
5	Ramón Belmín	Médano Alto		5		5			
6	Pedro Ramón Camacho (33)	a) Guamacho abandoned for:		3 to 4				x	
	His actual authority over Ramón Belmín is contested.	b) (Island opposite it)		3 to 4				x	The island was later abandoned for a site farther upstream.

33. The underlined names are those of higher chiefs (in Spanish: capitán mayor) with greater authority than the other chiefs (in Spanish: capitán menor). This authority generally extends to the neighboring communities originally directed by a capitán menor and grouped together on this table by wavy lines.

103
114
342
361
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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
7	Ezequiel Padrón	Merecurito		x		x		x	
8	Ramón José Caravajal (named by the Venezuelans) (34)	Magdalena							
	34. "Named by the Venezuelans" means that he was designated or confirmed as chief by a representative of the Venezuelan authorities.								
		or Caravajal	2			x			
9	Antonio Peraza (named by the Venezuelans and not recognized by the Yaruro)	San José and San Luis	3			x			The winter habitations are invisible from the bank. The summer encampment located on a shore is at San Luis.
10	José Carmen Garcilla	2 sites occupied simultaneously							
		a) Santa Rosa			1				
		b) Caño Amarillo	2						

6:Le Besnerais--13d E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...30. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
11	Andrés or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado —see community no. 15)	Paso El Roto (briefly occupied)	x			x			
		then simultaneously Vuelta Mala 1 and Vuelta Mala 2	x			x			
12	Ramon Remilio Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barrancas)	2					x	The type I habitations are located 400/500 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1						The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Jesús Arcaya	Manguito	1						
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over Andrés or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Caibote	2				1	1	The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
16	Ramón Díaz	El Colbote	3				5	3	The type I habitations are located about 300 m. from the bank.
17	Castillo	La Gavinera	6				x		
18	Simón Pacheco	Morocurito	1						
19	Simón Pacheco	Argentina	3			x			
20	Bilegas	Argentina	x						The habitations are located on the savanna far from the bank.
21	Bilegas	Garici	1 to 2			x			
22	José Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Matacaballo	3						The habitations are far from the bank.
23	Eloy	Monte Zamuco (La Pastilla)		x		x			

6:Le Beau/erais--13c E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Riecito River:									
24	?	?	2						The habitations are located about 200 m. from the bank.
25	Cecilio (Cecilito)	Manguito	6 to 7						The habitations are located 1 km. 600 from the bank. They are surrounded by mango trees.
26	Felipe (Felipito)	?	2			1		1	
27	Jerónimo	?	x					x	The summer encampment is set up under some trees.
28	Gregorio	?	1						
29	José Blanco	?	2			3		1	
30	Luis	?	4	1		5		8	

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Between the Capanaparo and Cinaruco Rivers:			
P	?	?	One day downstream from R
Q	Joseito Menor	La Vigía	2 km. downstream from R
R	Olivet	El Gomal	One league (5 km.) from the Cinaruco and one day in summer or 1 1/2 days in winter--because the Casanarito, which is deep, must be crossed with a raft--from community no. 7, the spot on the Capanaparo which is closest to it.
S	?	?	Near R
T	?	?	

[554 551 922]

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No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
U	?	Lagunota	Traversed by Raymond Fiasson (36) in 36. See "infra" IV List...21 and 22. Nov./Dec. 1946. At sources of the Náure.
V	?	?	On the Caño Amarillo
W	Alfonso (reputed a thief)	Ceiba	At sources of the Macanillita
Between the Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers:			
X	Nicolás	?	On the right bank of the Capanaparo between communities No. 22 and 23.

6:Le Besnerais--13k E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Y	Padrón (reputed a thief)	?	At the sources of the Caño Perro de Agua.
Z	?	Moriche	Near a lagoon and not far from community no. 28.
Between the Riecito and Cinaruco Rivers:			
AA	Pablo and José Losa Cardona (other name cited: Leyi)	Reicero	On a dune located at the sources of the Cinarucquito, the Cinaruco, or the Riecito, or near the Cinaruquito and 1/2 day's travel on foot from the right bank of the Riecito or one day by canoe (up to the Paso Reicero) from the Boca del Riecito.
AB	Nicolás	?	

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
AC	Basilio	?	On the Cinaruquito, to the South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra.
On the Cinaruco River:			
AD	Pablo Emilio	?	At the Paso Mina
AE	?	Santa Rosa	
AF	Julio	?	South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra
AG	José Lopez Paez	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13m E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19